173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassaten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenan.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 631 643 648 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioual,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaïen and the Kel-i-n-Tounîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Taïtok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Taïtok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

• 175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifora tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Taïtok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ajjer, when the Ihaggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imanen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Attarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Aménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ajjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Taïtok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Amayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Attici ag Amellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Attarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Amastan.

• 175 Moussa ag Ămâstan, Ăttici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Ămdor brought him up. Ămdor lived with the Iföra from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Iföra, the Idnân, the Kounta, and the Bérabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Ămâstan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

[578] When the Tăïtok were raided by the Kel Tădelé (from the A'ïr) they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tădelé, /188/ Tăïtok, and Iföra. En route, however, the Tăïtok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tădelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Tăïtok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihăggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Tăïtok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden aménokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihăggaren. He did the same with the Kel A'ïr, which made it possible for the Issekkemâren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

175 It seems that Ăitarel had designated him as his successor, but he refused the job in view of the anarchy which reigned in the Ahaggar and did not oppose Ăttici, who was elected by the party hostile to peace with the French.

Events moved very rapidly; in 1903 he talked with Kaid Bilou of In-Salah, one of our trusted men, about the surrender of the Ihăggaren. Then he went to Ghat to visit the chief of that region, In Gueddassen, in order to invite him to come to In-Salah with him. When In Gueddassen refused, he went directly to In-Salah to discuss the surrender of the Ahaggar people.

The history of his life after that is the history of the French penetration.

Moussa married late and lived until 1910 in concubinage with a captive who bore him a daughter. Then he married the daughter of Ibedi ag Bassi, Tihit, from the Tăitok tribe, who gave him a second daughter. After that he left for France on the invitation of General Laperrine.

The following year, as a reward for services rendered, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor.

Through his efforts, thus recompensed by the French, Moussa ag Ămastan saw his people rally completely, but he was not to enjoy his triumph for long. He died rather mysteriously on December 30, 1920.

Sickly by nature -- syphilitic, it is said, and asthmatic -- he was taken one day by sickness which he attributed to the aftereffects of a serious chest wound received at the time of a fall from a horse. He had to take to his bed the sixth day, but he seemed to be getting better when, during the night, he asked to make his prayer. At that time, he was camped /189/ near Tamanrasset and had the resident officer informed. When the latter arrived to visit him, however, Moussa had just died, not without having first advised the chiefs in attendance to always follow the French.

The members of his family were overwhelmed by such a sudden death, and one Ăjjer man who had arrived in camp within the

● 175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mḳaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ẍmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ẍmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ẍkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ẍkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ẍmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

●175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Amenokal Aïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Heguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Amenokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The amenokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Aït Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Aït Loaïen.

[178] 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amenokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 427 [195] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousseé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tărhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tăhifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

1: Lhote--60 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tobol of the Tăitok

631 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[121]

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioüel, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel-I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

1: Lhote--162 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

000 In the third century B.C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hoouara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early
175 Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr./ reaching the High Plateaus

114 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only
175 was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta /Syrtis Minor? Ed./ region and some Getulian tribes as well. However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular by the community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/ adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then, are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached, Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27; VIII, loc. cit, Mésnage, Le Christianisme en Afrique /Christianity in Africa/, vol. I, p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were converted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

[173 We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
53[] /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [773] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212 are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously.

795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are ● 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, ● 175 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern Tuareg.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

The Sultanry of Air.

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states; but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air

p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg" *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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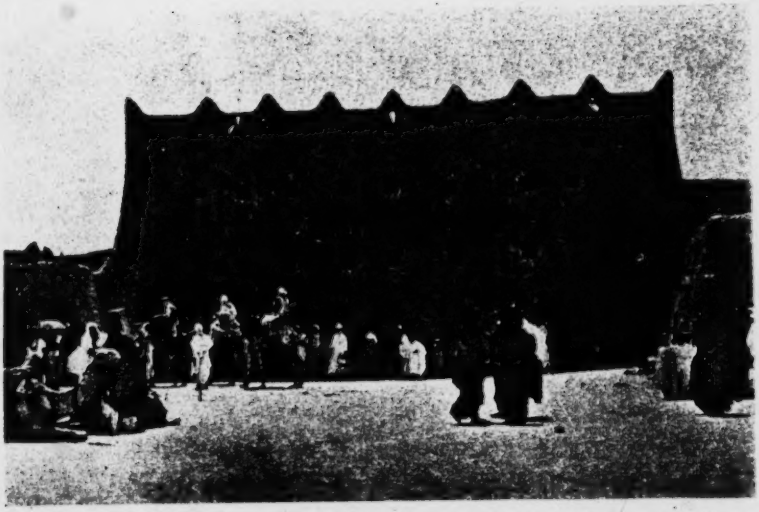

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 565 631 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 643 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

[643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing 175 642 643 [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Ifadeyen (2 clans)			Kouroulobo Imerhamehouan
Igetofen			Toroui Beinabo Ti-n-Daouine Anialen Abelemma Ekaouel
Iraouelen			Tombalaga Akadanei Meigaouei
Elbaraten			Ououachor
Itagan			Eleleg
Isakaranen	633 107		Ti-n-Tebezgin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1300	They may be noble by origin.	Talak Ourarene Zounika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals.	Ti-n-Teborak
Ibararochchiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Endegra

175 642 643 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.

114 614 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

614 127 162 [631]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of Sabenas.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of Amenokal.

Elkarebi, the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Rali, who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

Ouanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

Agg Elkher, of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerhar, who was the son of Rali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tesuit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their
[538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/

I

The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

• 175 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown.
648 The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

177 /152 cont./ Large-scale tourism has adopted the Ahaggar; mountain climbers count the virgin peaks still to be scaled and are guided by young Tuareg who begin to speak French. We cannot do otherwise than congratulate ourselves on the material results obtained, but how many Saharans miss, in the bottom of their hearts, the days of the monthly mail, evoking a fairly recent period but one which already seems long past? It was the period that drew them to the Ahaggar, which now is being led, little by little, to the light of this century.

/153/ Appendices

I

Historical Account of the French Occupation

175

February 16, 1881. The Flatters mission is massacred by the Kel Rela and Tédjéhé Mellet Tuareg, aided by a few imrad.

1887. A Taïtok raiding party is taken by surprise at Hassi Hinifel. Thirty Tuareg are taken to Algiers as prisoners for four years. It is with the aid of these Tuareg that Hanoteau will work out the first Tamashek grammar. One of these prisoners becomes the friend of the explorer Crampel, who later was to be killed by his so-called friend.

1898. The Kel Rela and the Taïtok are at war. The latter, defeated by Moussa ag Amastane, flee to the region of the Oulimiden.

1899. Commandant Pein, accompanied by Flamand, carries out a mission to occupy the Tidikelt, thus cutting the Tuareg off from their trading markets of Aoulef and In-Salah.

•175 /153 cont./ The Foureau-Lamy mission crosses the Ahaggar without being troubled at any time.

1900. The amenokal Aïtarel dies. The situation is confused. Two amenokal are named, Mohamed ad Ourzig and Attici. This double command brings on a state of anarchy which causes the Tuareg to turn to Moussa ag Amastane, a courageous, /154/ brillant man who speaks of a possible settlement with the French. The Taïtok, however, are the first to submit, chiefly because of their desire to act before Moussa, their personal enemy since the combats of 1898.

1902. After the pillage of a caravan by the Kel Ahaggar, Lieutenant Cottenest is sent to the Ahaggar to make an example of them. The account of this expedition, La Randonnée du lieutenant Cottenest /The Long March of Lieutenant Cottenest/, written by Commandant Cauvet, is required reading for an appreciation of the man to whom we owe the Ahaggar. After a circuit of Tuareg territory that attested to the qualities of the leader of the expedition, Cottenest gives battle at Tit, at the Tin-Essa gara. About 100 Tuareg are killed in making an assault with spears and sabers. The Dag Rali and the Adjouh n'Téhélé were the tribes that suffered most in this battle.

1903. Commandant Laperrine and his lieutenants make a peaceful tour of the Ahaggar.

1904. Moussa ag Amastane submits at In-Salah.

Commandant Laperrine, accompanied by Father de Foucauld, Gautier, and Chudeau, skirts the Ahaggar to the west and effects a liaison with the colonial troops at Timiaouine.

1905. Father de Foucauld settles permanently at Tamanrasset.

Lieutenant Roussel is the first commander of the Tamanrasset post.

175/154 cont./

1908. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok; the latter are driven back to the Sudan.

1909. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Tuareg tribes of the Ajjers.

1910. Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal, goes to France to travel with Father de Foucauld.

1914. The territory of the Ajjers is occupied.

1916. New incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok.

/155/ On December 2, 1916, Father de Foucauld is murdered at Tamanrasset by Senussites accompanied by Aït Loen, who carry off 20 rifles and 3,000 cartridges.

1917. Revolt by several imrad groups with the object of stealing camels from the French of the Sahara.

Captain Masson gives battle to a group of Tuareg in the Ilaman wadi on April 5, 1917. (Thirteen killed, two of them French soldiers).

On June 1, near Iniker, the detachment under Pietri is attacked. (Five killed, two wounded, two missing).

On July 26 Second Lieutenant Lehuraux has to battle a party of 300 Tuareg.

1918. Peace is re-established in the Ahaggar. The Taïtok are permanently ousted from their lands and are driven back to the Sudan.

1920. General Laperrine dies at Anesbaraka from injuries sustained in an airplane accident.

1921. Death of Moussa ag Amastane. He is succeeded by Akhamouk ag Yemma.

1925. The Taïtok lay claim to their lands confiscated by the Kel Rela, but the status quo is maintained.

1927. Death of Akhamouk. Meslar ag Amayas is elected amenokal.

1950. Death of Meslar. The caliph, Bey ag Akhamouk, is elected in 1951.

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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916-17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahas*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that [175] the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

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The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tayunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and [283] plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the [231] loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and [563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr, [563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit *492 [171] (*arabo*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes. [13] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps, [175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).

231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*dfell*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafaut*.

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In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

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Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ərudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemṭéyen* (living at Rat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-mellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Aṭăram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the break-down of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ḍela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ḍela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] [578] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also

[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All

[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to

[361] [162] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

125 567 [648] [171] It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Ajjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821).

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Tayiok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Ajjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group.

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading.

[text continues on p. 221]

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Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
162 from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
189 but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
191 of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
148 knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
167 West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
173 into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chaamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
148 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamaçheq*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century. This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddemus* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ġanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Tafhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ġanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ġanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddemus*). Ahaggar, I-n-gawen.

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have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists.

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechâkra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmâr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademcket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ğanet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraṛen*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraṛen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraṛen*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛaṛṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imaṇṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when ● 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛaṛṛaren, the *Imaṇṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest [586] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imaṇṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imaṇṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:—

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isẖeḳeṛen*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isẖeḳeṛen*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isẖeḳeṛen*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*".

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amuhaṛ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amaziṛ* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheṛ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462).

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

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southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pronunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awrir* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awrir*, which in the form of *Awrira* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Urajen* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

Gedala belonging to the large *Şanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

Lemtuna and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manşur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

Messufa in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zorba* living in the central Maghreb.

Lemta living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riah* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

Targa living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westernmost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hocari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

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We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the word "*Targa*" or *Targa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Ajjer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Rat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

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175 To my mind, the best general account of the history of the Ayr Tuareg, is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

We do not know when the first Tuareg came to the Sahara, but as early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers, including the two important tribal groups of *Lemta* and *Zaṛawa*, passed through the desert. The *Lemta* settled around the Niger and gave rise to the *Sonṛay* Empire, while the *Zaṛawa* reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornu was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Ayr where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the *Hausa* state of *Gober* or *Gobir* which existed in Ayr up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the tribes of *Igdalen* (now in Tegama and Damergu south of the Massif) and *Iberkhuréyn* (now in Azawaṛ north of Tawa) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case with the *Kel Tamgak* in Northern Ayr. The great age of the *Igdalen* and the *Kel Tamgak* is recognized by all Ayr Tuareg to-day.

The arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins known as *Beni Hilal* and *Beni Sulaym*, who invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and the Fezzan (cf. Ibn Khaldun, I, p. 134 ff.), had the result that many Tuareg tribes migrated southwards to Ayr. Among them was a group of seven tribes (*Itésen, Ijadaranein* [probably the *Ihaḍanaren*], *Ifadalen, Tamakwat, Tamga'azellet, Iza'aran*, and *Ibrazwen*) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The *Itésen* tribe had as its particular ancestress the eldest daughter. The tribes were united into a sort of federation also known as *Itésen* because its supreme chief, named *Aṛumbulu*, was elected from this tribe. The *Itésen* group settled in Central Ayr, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named *Immikitan* was separated from the *Itésen* federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief named *Emekki*. Tuareg of *Itésen* and *Immikitan* stocks are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the Massif, where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. However, remnants of these ancient Tuareg tribes are still found in the central parts of the Ayr Massif where they lead a semi-sedentary life. It seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* at a very early date became attached to the small agricultural centres of Ayr. Many stone ruins throughout Ayr are ascribed to the *Itésen*, who are said also to have lived at Agadez which originally was a small village of stone houses inhabited by them.

According to tradition the *Itésen* Tuareg came from the oasis of Awjila in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, or adjacent parts of northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the *Kel Geres* are, according to some traditions, related to the *Itésen*. They are said also to have come from Awjila. However, it seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* have immigrated to Ayr at different times, and that the *Kel Geres* came later. According to Urvoy they invaded Ayr at a time between the 12th and the 14th century (cf. Urvoy 1936).

At the end of the 14th century both the *Kel Geres* and the *Itésen* came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the *Kel Ewey*, who are said to have had Awjila as their original homeland like the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres*. They fought these two groups and in particular the *Kel Geres* who lived in Central Ayr around Anu Mekkeren. As a result of this the *Kel Geres* finally left Ayr in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madawa of the Nigerian borderlands. They still live in

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these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ḍela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ḍela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadaweli* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*.

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imaṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

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173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elberber* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 643 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Aṛumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

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According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Ayrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan.

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164).

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izyan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to

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Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Koranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imrad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Koranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

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172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting